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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 78

HANDBOOK

OF THE

INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

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WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1925

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THE TÜBATULABAL.

ORIGIN AND MOVEMENTS.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübatulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

197 174 131 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatulabal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

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173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits
648 of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern
101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water-fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the

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smaller South Kern. On the map the entire area tributary to both branches has been assigned to the Tübatulabal; but the upper reaches, which are little else than two great canyons among vast mountains, were assuredly uninhabited, and it is not even certain that the Tübatulabal laid exclusive claim to their hunting rights.

Substantially, this Kern River country is a rugged depression between the southern end of the main Sierra Nevada proper and a secondary parallel range. From this lower range to the west, Tule River, and Deer, White, and Poso Creeks flow westward, through Yokuts lands, directly into Tulare Lake. Kern River, however, is confined to a true southerly course until after it has worked its way around the end of the secondary range, when it sweeps westward, and finally almost northward, until lost in the tule swamps and lakes south of Tulare Lake. At least such was the condition until a generation ago: now the lake is nearly gone, and, except in times of flood, the volume of Kern River is dissipated in endless ditches and over irrigated stretches. The natural course of the stream is thus a great semicircle, open to the north: its upper half Tübatulabal, its lower Yokuts. Only at one point did the Tübatulabal leave their river. In the region of upper Deer Creek a small band seems to have had a home among the Yokuts. This group is referred to below as the Bankalachi.

Only a few names of places in Tübatulabal country can be located, and it is not known how many of these were villages. On the South Fork, Cheibü-pan was at Roberts, Tüsh-pan at Weldon. Yahaua-pan was at the forks; Piliwini-pan near Whiskey Flat or Kernville; Wokinapüi-pan farther up the main fork. Mount Whitney, "where all rivers begin," was called Otoavit. Owens Lake, on one side of the mountains, was Patsiwat, Bakersfield, on the other, Paluntanakama-pan.

The Yokuts called the village at the forks Pitnani-u; others, at Kernville, Tulonoya, at Keyes, Haukani-u; and at a hot spring above Vaughn, Tumoyo. The Tübatulabal territory is shown in most detail in the Yokuts map. (Pl. 47.)

The name Tübatulabal is Shoshonean and means "pine-nut eaters," but its dialectic source is not established. The Tübatulabal admit the designation, but also call themselves, or their speech, Pahkanapül. The Yokuts sometimes translate Tübatulabal into Wateknasi, from *watak*, "pine-nut"; but more frequently employ Pitanisha, from Pitnaniu, the central village. They also say Malda, but this term denotes any Shoshonean. Paligawonop and "Polokwynah" are unidentified names for the Tübatulabal.

They, in turn, name their neighbors as follows: Winanghatal, the western Mono of Kaweah River; Yiwinanghal, the eastern Mono or perhaps the Mono in general; Witanghatal, the Kitanemuk Serrano. These three names present the appearance of being directional terms. The Kawishin are the Kawaiisu, the Toloim the Bankalachi, the Amahaba the far-away Mohave. The Yokuts tribes in the valley along lower Kern River are the Molilabal; for the Yokuts in the foothills, somewhat distorted forms of their proper names are employed, as Witskamin, Paluyam, and Yokol, with perhaps an extension

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of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

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apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

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765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had
131 crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
197 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
177 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
563 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").